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IN THE SENATE.

DEBATE ON MR. BENTON'S RESOLUTIONS

Wednesday, February 3

Mr. MANGUM rose, and said that, until very recently, it had not been his purpose to participate in this debate. Indeed, the resolutions immediately under consideration admitted of but little discussion and slight diversity of opinion.

The first resolution, in its original form, was novel, bold, and decided, and, in his opinion, eminently inexpedient. It bore the impress of its paternity. As it is now modified at the suggestion of the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. Grundy), it embodies one of that gentleman's felicitous conceptions, importing nothing definite, presenting nothing tangible, disarming resistance, because it disarms itself. It is a smooth juggle of words, awakening no precise idea, indicating no defined practical views, and sinking entirely out of sight those bold and novel features that characterized its original form. It now presents one of those comfortable positions on which either wary or scrupulous gentlemen may stand well screened from responsibility, and say "ay" or "no" with equal impunity. It is now like nothing but itself, unless it may be likened to the Senator from Tennessee, so far as it affirms that things "ought not to stand exactly as they are." When we shall come to divide upon it, if we shall vote upon it at all in its present form, gentlemen will find it difficult, having regard to its merits, to discover any motive for its support, or to suggest any precise and decisive reason wherefore it should be rejected. Unimportant as are these resolutions in themselves, they have been made the occasion of discussing much higher and graver matter. Gentlemen had taken a wide and discursive range, and touched every topic that could supply materials for taunt, crimination, and injurious comment.

The Senate had been assailed for refusing the supply of the three millions on the last night of the last session. Our foreign relations, and especially the French war, had been elaborately discussed, and the surplus revenue had been assailed with a vigor proportioned to the magnitude of the prize. In truth, thirty millions of surplus revenue, and the future surpluses accruing from year to year, are a great prize. To retain the surplus, and an unchecked control of it, is to retain power in the hands of the present holders, and to wield it with an unresisted and irresistible domination, in defiance of constitutional right, in scorn of ancient usages, and in contempt of a dignified moderation.

Mr. M. said he had disapproved the direction given to most of the debate by those with whom he usually acted. He had all along felt that Senators exposed themselves to the suspicion of feeling a sense of weakness in their position, when they suffered themselves to be arraigned here by a Senator, and they seriously and gravely set about defending themselves against the charge. As to his vote upon the three million supply, it was right. His first impression, strong as it was, had been strengthened by mature reflection and subsequent developments. Upon that vote of the Senate depended the uniform usage of Congress, the integrity of the Constitution, and the peace of the country. He would not, therefore, submit to be arraigned either by Senators here, or by the other House, or strange as it might sound to willing ears, by the Executive itself. He would submit to arraignment by no power under Heaven, save that constituent body in North Carolina to which he always felt amenable, and to which he owed and cherished all duty and respect. Nor would he undertake the disgusting task of delineating the history of the three million supply, its rise, progress, and fall: his career was brief and eventful, conceived in profligacy, nurtured by empiricism, and brought to its death by sinister designs and crooked policy. The fabled god that devoured his offspring was not more cruel than the projectors of this outrage upon the Constitution, the treasury, the pacific relations, and the patience of a betrayed and insulted people. Who doubts that this fruit of intrigue was crushed by the hand of its parent?

Mr. M. said he should take his stand upon higher ground. There was no necessity for any extraordinary appropriation. To the close of the last session there had not been a word or movement on the part of France, indicating hostile purpose; nor has there been, to the present moment. Not a man, woman or child in the United States apprehended war at that time, and least of all, that the first hostile demonstration would be made on the part of France. It is true that at the opening of Congress in December, 1834, the President had thrown a

fire-ball into the Halls of Congress. The question of reprisals upon French commerce was distinctly submitted to Congress. Every one of the least intelligence knows that reprisals by one Power upon the commerce of another, supposing them to be at all equal in the resources of defence and annoyance, are as necessarily connected with war, as is the shadow with the substance.

Did that message find an echo in either branch of Congress? Did its recommendations find favor with any party, either in or out of Congress? Did not the Senate, by a unanimous vote, resolve that no legislative measure, under the existing circumstances, was necessary? Was there a single individual in this body found pliant enough to flatter the peculiar views of the Executive by compromising the peace of the country?

Did not the other House, at the very close of the session, by unanimous vote, abstain from any specific recommendation indicting the slightest apprehension of collision? Above all, did the Executive itself, high strung as it was, indicate to Congress any new cause of apprehension, or new development, requiring extraordinary appropriations for defence and protection? If any such new cause existed, was it not the bounden duty of the Executive, charged as he is by the Constitution with the care of our foreign relations, to make it known officially to Congress? Will Senators press upon us a state of the question that must necessarily imply a defect of sagacity in the Executive, or a plain dereliction of duty? Such is the inevitable consequence. For, if cause for extraordinary defences existed, the Executive either did know, or ought to have known it. If he did know it, and failed to apprise Congress of it, it was a flagrant dereliction of duty. If he did not know it, he was discreditably deficient in vigilance, sagacity, and forecast. The truth is, no such cause existed, nor is there the least ground for imputing to the President, in this respect, either dereliction of duty or deficiency in sagacity.

Whence came the recommendation for the supply of the three millions, and for what purpose did it come? It did not come from the Executive; it did not come from any head of department; nor did it come reinforced by the deliberative judgment of any committee. It came under cover of the darkness of the last night of the session, upon the individual responsibility of a member of another body (Mr. Cambreleng.) As it was sprung upon us under the cover of night, so its mysterious end is enveloped in impenetrable darkness. Half of the whole truth has not been told; sir, it will never be told. And, sir, what sort of authority is this, upon which the Senate is required to vote this appropriation? To vote a supply extraordinary in amount, unconstitutional in its form, in the absence of estimates, and, above all, in the entire absence of the least necessity, either shown or alleged, upon any exhibition of fact? This sort of authority may be deemed sufficient by the "faithful." To me it comes with no title to respect, and scarcely with claim to a decent forbearance. And for what purpose did it come? Was it to soothe the roused sensibilities of the Executive? Was it designed as balm for feelings wounded and pride chafed by discomfiture? Was it intended as an equivalent for the refusal of reprisals? As a delicate mode of flattery, by the strong expression of unlimited confidence, implied in the unconditional surrender of the purse, the sword, and the Constitution? Did it look incidentally to the providing of a contingent fund for the summer campaign? To enlist recruits, and to carry the ballot-boxes by fraud or by force? And did it not look to the embarrassing of an eminent Senator on this floor (Mr. White), "the Cato of East Tennessee?" Sir, the position of this pure and distinguished Senator may well arouse the fears, excite the hatred, and put in motion all the puppets, "Punch, the Devil, and all of them," that play in this great Presidential game. Well may intrigue be afoot, and under the cover of night. It never had more motive and greater necessity to make a desperate push. The watch-fires are kindling on every hill, from the Potomac to the Balize. The White banner is unfurled; countless crowds are thronging to that standard. The Albany banner yet waves its molley folds over the "disciplined and the faithful." But even discipline begins to quail before superior numbers. That banner begins to bow, and will yet be dragged in the mire, if the Hero of New Orleans come not to the rescue. Yes, sir, to the rescue. To turn his back upon the honest and steadfast friend of forty years; a friend through good and through evil report; the same firm, fast friend in the log cabin of the wilderness as in the marble walls of a palace; a friend too proud and too pure to stoop to sycophancy, too honest to flatter, and too

straightforward for the crooked ways of modern policy. To turn his back upon this friend, and for whom? For one that the hero took to his bosom as of yesterday. One who spurned him in the hour of tribulation; who would have trod upon him in his first painful struggles for power, but who has a quick eye for the rising sun, and the smooth tongue of flattery for the ear of power. If such injustice shall be found in the heart of man, I feel a strong assurance that it will find no echo in the bosoms of a just and generous people. Give us but an open field, a fair contest, the people's money locked in the strong box, and the hands of power off, and we promise to give a good account of the intriguers on the south of the Potomac. We shall drive them out. They will find no foothold in Maryland, in Delaware, and, least of all, in the great and glorious "Key-stone State." They may be safe in the North, and strongholds of the Empire State, but the Presidency and the country will be safe from the contamination of their systems, and the blight of their tortuous and sinister policy. But to return. Suppose the three millions had been granted, does any one doubt that we would have been in war? By the phraseology of the grant, both the means and the implied discretion would have been placed in the hands of the President.

The French Chambers had taken a false position. The French Government had solemnly stipulated the payment of the twenty-five millions of francs. It had not complied; the delay had produced irritation; the message of 1834 had taken very strong ground; strong expressions were used. The French Government took offence—recalled its minister here—offered passports to ours at that court. The law for complying with the stipulations of the treaty was passed, with a condition annexed not found in the treaty, nor contemplated by it; with a condition that satisfactory explanation of the President's message should be given before the payment should be made. All this was clearly wrong. The position is utterly untenable. I, for one (said Mr. M.), as an humble American citizen, protest against all or any explanations, in any manner or form whatsoever. If France has any ground of complaint, let her first perform her own duty, pay the money solemnly stipulated by treaty, and then, and not till then, demand reparation for any injury, real or imaginary, to the French Government and people.

In that event, I doubt not that the justice and magnanimity of this government will do every thing compatible with its honor to remove heart-burnings and ill-will. In that event, we may well do it, without seeming to be stimulated by low and mercenary considerations. Looking to the actual position which France assumed, suppose the three million supply had been granted, accompanied with unrestrained discretion, what would have been the consequence? Is not the probability strong, nay, is it not almost certain, that measures would have been adopted that would have brought war? Look to the history of this matter. On the 15th September last, the Duc de Broglie caused to be laid before the Executive of this country a paper drawn with signal ability and fairness, and obviously designed as a pacific overture to this Government, and seeking the means of escape from a false position. What was the reception given it?—High, cold, and haughty. Breathing any thing but the calm and conciliatory spirit of that overture. In three days afterwards, on the 14th, this Government sent peremptory instructions to our *charge des affaires* at Paris to leave that Government forthwith, in case the money should not be paid; an order hastily, and in my judgment, rashly given—cutting off every channel of communication between the two Governments. Sir, if the three millions, with the implied discretion contained in the proposition for the grant, had been at the disposition of the Executive, might we not have looked for measures as strong as those recommended at the previous session? And would not those measures have brought war? Sir, what have been the conduct and tone of Senators in the confidence of the Administration during this session?

The Senator from Missouri (Mr. Benton) has brought forward resolutions looking not only to the thirty millions now in the Treasury, but to the expenditure of all accruing surpluses in future years, for the fortification and the arming of our Atlantic frontier; contemplating a gigantic scheme, hitherto not dreamed of, and the expenditure of countless millions for defence alone, as if, in this enlightened age, war were the only object and purpose of mankind. The teeming abundance of the times, instead of seeking investment in those great lines of internal communication; instead of giving strength, wealth, happiness and ornament to the finest country under the sun, and impulse to the spirit of enter-

prise; in a word, instead of being distributed among the States for the purpose of consolidating and strengthening all the permanent interests and ties of social life—this abundance is to be poured out upon the maritime frontier, in the construction of fortifications, to frown defiance towards all the world. A scheme well worthy of the spirit of the iron age! And these resolutions are accompanied with a speech mild, subdued, and guarded in language, but breathing the furious war spirit of Mars himself. Then follows the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. Grundy.) It is difficult to determine whether his voice is for war, or still for peace. There is no one but must perceive that he means to whip up, and keep in the front ranks of the Administration, wherever they may. We learn the fact, portentously announced, that he is not willing "that things shall remain exactly as they are." In the midst of this discussion, which seems well pitched to bring the public mind up to the war point, there comes the offer of mediation by the Government of Great Britain.

Never has so beautiful a scheme of operations been so completely marred by an unlucky incident. War, war, horrid war, engrossed every mind, and employed every tongue. A French war was preferred, if we could have the good luck to get it. At all events, we must have a war. If not a French war, the Treasury has charms—a war upon that, as well as the Senate, may afford an amusing interlude in these "dull piping times of peace." This magnanimous offer of mediation on the part of Great Britain, it is understood, has been accepted by this Government; indeed, it could not be refused. In this state of things, when every consideration of delicacy, in connection with our own honor, as well as the feelings of the mediator, would seem to dictate, if not profound silence, yet entire abstinence from every topic of irritation or offensive allusion, the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Buchanan) rises in his place, and delivers the most elaborated and high-toned war speech that has been heard in the Capitol since 1812. He charges, directly and unequivocally, dishonorable equivocation and bad faith upon the French Government, in terms the harshest and most offensive. He goes a bow shot beyond any thing said by the Executive.

Sir, I regard the Senator's speech as an exposition of the views and feelings of the Executive. We perfectly understand the division of labor among the leaders of the party in power. Is it not known that the Senator from Missouri (Mr. Benton) has in charge "the better currency," the bank rags, the yellow jackets, and the public domain? The Senator has strangled the monster, more fearful than the fabled Lernaean hydra, or, rather, he has cut off his head; but I fear he has not skillfully cauterized the wound. The monster seems to be in a process of resuscitation, as well as hundreds of other lesser but pernicious monsters that seem to have sprung from its blood, sprinkled by the Hercules in the struggle for its decapitation.

I trust the Senator will inform us, at some early day, how the experiment of suppressing bank rags, and increasing the circulation of the gold currency, succeeds. I suppose the proportion of paper money to the precious metals in circulation does not now exceed more than three or four times that which existed half a dozen years ago. In other words, I suppose the fictitious capital is not more than three or four times greater in reference to the actual capital than it was six or seven years ago. As this is an interesting experiment under the scientific superintendence of the Senator, I trust he will give us such lights from time to time as his leisure and convenience may allow. I frankly confess that I am not without fear that the rapid and unexampled augmentation of fictitious banking capital portends throes and convulsions that may shake the prosperity of this country with the force and destructiveness of an earthquake.

Do we not likewise understand that the Senator from New York (Mr. Wright) has in charge all the peculiar and special interests of the Albany Regency throughout the Union? And have we not all admired the skill and dexterity with which he manages and controls this intricate and complicated machinery?

And who does not know that the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Buchanan) has charge of our foreign relations? His wary sagacity and polished diplomacy, deriving strength and ornament, as they do, from a long experience, indicate the wisdom and fitness of the choice. Therefore, upon this subject, I take his speech as indicating truly the tone and temper of the Executive. I have alluded to the harshness and offensiveness of the matter and manner of that speech, as well as to the time and the circumstances under which it was delivered. Sir, Mark Anthony's speech over the dead body of

Cesar was a perfect failure compared with that of the Senator. But Mark Anthony was a plain, blunt man, whereas the Senator is an eloquent and practiced diplomatist. He shows us the wounds of our sweet country's bleeding honor, "poor, poor, dumb mouths," and, surpassing the skill of Anthony, he "puts a tongue in every wound," which aforesaid tongue discourses so eloquently that they "move the very stones to mutiny;" and my friend from Kentucky (Mr. Crittenden) may look out for his "ploughshares," lest they be converted, in the twinkling of an eye, into Bowie knives and the most approved hairtriggers; and, strange to tell, all this display of eloquence and exhibition of elaborate skill in fixing perfidy upon the French Government at the very instant that our Government is accepting, yes, accepting perforce, the offered mediation of the British Government. Does the Senator suppose that when his speech shall assume a neat pamphlet form, if the President, apusing himself with his franking privilege, as is his wont, should perchance frank a copy to his brother Louis Philippe, it would materially contribute to the success of the mediation? Does the Senator desire war, or does he desire peace? If the latter, I can perceive no reason for keeping up this show of war, unless it be to subject the surplus revenue to a sort of legislative plunder. Sir, war is resolved on, if war can be had under circumstances to carry with it the patriotic feeling and the enthusiasm of the country. But war will not come. Thank God! war cannot now come. I have never felt a stronger reliance than at this instant, that an overruling and favoring Providence which has made this great country what it is, will continue to it prosperity and greatness.

I think I see, in the divided and peculiar interests of the great sections of the dominant party, the surest guarantee of continued peace. I think I see, what I never expected to see, much good, yes, the blessings of continued peace, likely to come from the peculiar and selfish interests of the worst party that has ever threatened the prosperity of this country with its terrible scourge. Such are the glorious ends that a gracious and benign Providence works out by the employment of the meanest and basest instruments. But, sir, if, contrary to all my anticipations, war shall come, whatever may be my opinions of the wretched bungling or wicked designs of its authors, I shall regard it as no longer a party matter, but as a great national question, demanding the zealous co-operation and the best energies of every American citizen. I shall feel it my duty, in whatever position I may stand, to lend my humble aid to the concentration of all the resources of the country to give vigor to the public arm, and to sustain, gloriously sustain the national character.

But, sir, I repeat, that war will not come. The heads of the dominant party have peculiar and divided interests, and consequently divided and conflicting counsels. The present head of the Government, high-toned, bold, daring, impatient, and eminently warlike, is obviously bent upon bringing France to his feet, or trying the hazards of war. His peculiar views are reinforced and sustained by a numerous, powerful, and, for the most part, interested corps. Almost the entire official corps, the anxious expectants of place, and the greedy seekers of jobs and contracts, will be found on the side of the strongest executive measures. War necessarily brings with it vast accessions of power to the Executive branch of the Government—vast accessions of officers and employees to the public service, and a corresponding increase in the expenditure of public money. Besides, the Army and the Navy, opposite in every thing to the mercenary tribe to which I have alluded, will be found on the side of war. Their high military spirit, their love of enterprise, their aversion to the "cankers of a calm world," and their devotion to glory, naturally and necessarily place them on the side of war. "Tis their vocation." "The pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war" have charms for the soldier not to be resisted. We are upon the eve of a Presidential election. The present head of the Government, brave, bold and warlike, is yet surrounded with the halo of glory won in many a stricken field. I have not heard that the nominee for the succession is particularly distinguished either for military spirit or military achievement. Though he reposes under the shade of the laurels that have sprung upon the glorious field of New Orleans, yet I have not learned that he has moistened their roots with either his sweat or his blood.

Suppose war should come, and the Presidential election at hand—who would be placed at the helm of the vessel of state, that she might ride out, in safety, the storm and the breakers ahead?

Sir, the lion is a noble animal; the tiger is a powerful and fearful one; the fox is cunning, stealthy, subtle, remarkable for his doblings, and nimble dexterities. The lion is lord of the woodland domain, in peace as well as in war. If, perchance, an alliance should be formed between the lion and the fox, (a most unnatural one,) or between the tiger and the fox, (less so,) it is easy to perceive that, in time of peace, the subtle reynard might rob half the tenants of the wood, and, by nimbleness of foot and dexterity in doubling, reach, without harm, his noble ally, lay his spoils at his feet, and crouch down at his paws for security and protection. But if the woodland domain should be awakened by the notes of war, and the tenants of the wood should prepare for the conflict, while the lordly lion would shake the dew-drops from his mane, and rouse to maintain his ancient supremacy, the cunning little fox would hie him away to the cleft of some rock from which he might securely scan the dangers and devastation of the battle-field.

Who would be best qualified to lead on in a war with France? The French are known to be a gallant, warlike, and powerful nation. Our national pride, national honor, and national safety would all be staked upon the issue. Might not the people, by universal acclamation, call to the head of the Government the bravest, the ablest, and most warlike? Would any eye be turned in the hour of danger upon the buzzing favourites "in the perfumed chambers of the great?" Would not a common sense of danger beget common counsels, looking to energy and ability as the best hope for honor and safety? It is in the contemplation of this state of things—of the imminent dangers to the designated succession in the event of war, that I see, or think I see, the safest guaranty for the continuance of peace.

If all apprehensions of the French war shall pass from men's minds, yet a war of subjugation will be waged upon the Senate. The dangers of this war, though less exigent, are but little less interesting to the calm and philosophical observer of the tendency of political events.

Sir, the issue of this great struggle is to determine the fearful question whether this Government shall retain its ancient federative character, such as the framers of the Constitution designed it to be, or whether it shall be engulfed in the great maelstrom of consolidation. It is to determine whether the sovereignty of the States is a mere ideal, visionary conception, or whether it is a sensible practical barrier against the excessive action of irregular power. In a word, it will determine the question of ascendancy between well-regulated liberty, and the irregular excess of irresponsible power. Sir, this contest is most unequal, whether viewed with reference to the characters of the parties to it, or with reference to their resources for defence, annoyance, or open assault.

The Executive is essentially active, the Senate necessarily passive. The Executive in its very unity, possesses a great element of strength. As an emanation from the popular will, it possesses great power, because of its popularity. The power of nomination and appointment, and, yet more, the power of removal from office, secures support, and subdues the spirit of resistance. It has the expenditure of vast amounts of public money in various forms; the power of creating hope and expectation in the distribution of patronage, and the distribution of money to favorite contractors. The glitter of office, rank, and station may be held up to tempt the ambitious, and the glitter of gold to tempt the mercenary. These great and various powers, centered in a single individual, upheld and controlled by a single will, capable of indefinite expansion and the minutest contraction, like the proboscis of an elephant, now tearing up an oak by the roots, and now picking up a pin; now overawing and subjugating a State Legislature, and now subsidizing a political hack; and all this reinforced and sustained by an unscrupulous press, acting in perfect concert, reaching the word of command from the centre upon every hill and in every vale of this great Confederacy; against the shafts of which a long life of virtue and integrity afford no protection; but the higher and more shining the merit, the more certainly will the poisoned arrow be sped—against all this fearful array of power and influence, how can an individual, or how can the Senate expect to escape the doom already denounced against them?

The Senate, on the contrary, is merely passive; it has no patronage or gold to tempt the ambitious or mercenary. It possesses none but mere conservative powers. It is a mere staying power—a sort of political break water, resisting on the one side the excessive ebullitions of Executive ambition, and the waves of a temporary popular fury on the other. The individual Senators have no sympathy or encouragement beyond the limits of their respective States, nor indeed, there, unless they be pliant, or unless, what can hardly be expected, the virtue and intelligence of the people shall be able to resist this formidable array of Executive power and influence.

In its legislative character, it is merely co-ordinate with the other branch of Congress. In its executive capacity, it must either follow the lead of the Executive, or be driven to the exercise of odious and unpopular powers. In the former

case it derives no strength, as there is no ascription of merit; in the latter, it has to encounter the denunciation of the Executive, its retainers, and disappointed nominees. Is it not wonderful that, in this unequal contest, the Senate, planting itself upon the ramparts of the Constitution, has been able to hold out so long against an Executive as remarkable for his popularity as for the fury of his assaults? Right or wrong, does it not afford consoling evidence of individual firmness and integrity? Does it not manifest on the part of Senators a confidence in the ultimate right judgment of the people, as refreshing to our hopes as it is complimentary to the intelligence, good sense, and virtue of our countrymen?

The events of another year, though they may not solve, yet they may throw much light upon this interesting problem. If the Senate shall be permanently broken, either by direct action upon it, or indirectly through the State Legislatures, one of the great safeguards of liberty will have fallen. The direct and inevitable tendency will be to the centralization of all political power.

If there be any truth in political science, perfectly clear it is that centralized power is but another name for despotic power. Precisely in proportion as you centralize, in the same proportion do you approach absolute power. Power begets power, and a tendency to centralization, in the long run, will reach that point.

To render power innocuous, it must be broken up into fragments, and such a distribution made of it, that, without the power of one department to control another, it may yet check and stay its action. To stand still is safe. To move onward with the concurrence of all the parts, is accomplishing the highest object of Government. But for one department to be endowed with the strength of silencing or dragging on all the others, *per fas aut nefas*, willing or unwilling, is to consummate the highest disasters of an irregular and despotic Government. Opposing powers in politics are not unlike opposing powers in physics. By delicate adjustment, perfect harmony may be preserved, and a just equilibrium attained. If, in the distribution of power, all the great interests that Government is designed to protect shall be fairly represented, and that representation shall be so adjusted, upon organic principles, that no interest can act on another without the concurrence of a majority representing each and every interest, it would present a scheme corresponding to our highest conceptions of a just and wise Government. The history of all ages and of all Governments shows that where power has been centralized, there it has been absolute; and that liberty, in every country, has borne a direct proportion to the equality and skill with which opposing though not conflicting powers have been distributed. The characteristic difference between the Governments of Asia and Europe is, that, in the former, there is a centralization of power, and, of course, the dead level of despotism; in the latter, power is more or less distributed, and, of course, more or less liberty in exact correspondence. I will not pursue this subject, though examples drawn from history might shed a flood of light on these propositions.

Sir, the French war disposed of, and the Senate put out of the way, or rather the "factious majority" got rid of, the dominant party will at length reach the great immediate object of all their efforts; I mean, the surplus revenue, the thirty millions on hand, and the rapidly accruing revenues of the country. All the rest, sir, are mere pretences, decoys for gulls. That stubborn majority in the Senate out of the way, a show of war must yet be kept up to decoy the People, through their feelings of patriotism, to yield assent to the lavish and profligate squandering of thirty millions; yes, and all the future accruing surpluses, until thirty millions shall be more than three times told, upon jobbers, contractors, favorites, and all the vampires belonging to the set, under the guise of warlike preparations, as if war were the sole business of life. I know gentlemen are not so shallow as to attach so much importance to these gigantic schemes of national defence as their speeches might seem to indicate. The surplus revenue must be seized upon. Sir, it will be so comfortable; it will not only serve to fill their pockets, but will give a prodigious activity to all the electioneering operations in the making of their President. Sir, it is vain to speak of the intelligence and virtue of the People being able to resist the power of a party backed by thirty millions in money, and an amount not much less in the shape of the public domain. I know (said Mr. M.) that there are States, and people in some of the States, that scarcely feel the influence. But at other points of the line of battle, where a decisive impression is necessary to be made, it can and will be made. The Government is too rich. It must be made poor, before it can be made economical and pure. As you increase the surplus means of the Government, you multiply the schemers, projectors, and sturdy beggars, who will fall upon devices that will infallibly reach and squander the money.

Sir, we stand in a new position, one wholly unknown, until now, in modern history. We have all the symptoms of a highly diseased plethora. We have too much money. Economy is rapidly

giving place to a wasteful profligacy. Chimerical projects are set on foot merely to get the money expended. Public men are losing all sense of the responsibility that habits of rigid economy enforce.

Sir, when I first came to Congress, if a proposition had been introduced requiring the expenditure of thirty millions in military defences, it would have been laughed to scorn. The mover would have been derided as the merest moonstruck visionary. All would have seen then, as they must now, that it is impossible to lay out that amount annually; that the requisite skill and the necessary labor cannot be procured, if you had the power of Midas to convert the mountains into solid gold. Yet, this is the natural downward course. Twelve years ago, the annual expenses of Government were under ten millions. Under this Administration, which came into power with such lavish promises of economy, and pledges to bring back the Government to the cheapness, simplicity, and purity of its earlier and better days, the expenditure has increased to a sum largely above twenty millions, and in the future we may expect to see those expenses exceed thirty millions a year. Is there the slightest necessity for this increase? None at all. Is it possible that the people would tolerate this state of things, if they were fully awakened to it? Sir, the Treasury must be reduced, or this Government will sink into profligacy, and its retainers into utter corruption. But I tell you, sir, and I tell the people from my place here, that this Administration and its active crops of supporters will not suffer this money to be taken out of their hands. I tell the people that the Administration will not suffer the States and the people to take and enjoy their own money. I tell the people that every plan of equal distribution of this surplus treasure, that is not now needed, that is lying idle to be scrambled for, will be resisted to the death by the Administration and its loyal supporters. I tell them that the friends of the Administration will vote for the most extravagant appropriations, exceeding far, very far, in amount, the most extravagant ever known heretofore, with the view of reducing this surplus as much as possible, and for the purpose of expending it among its retainers and employees, for works but little needed, if at all. I say to the people, mark this prediction, and see it shall not be verified to the letter. I tell them that these unappropriated surpluses are of no use to any one, except to the deposit banks; and that to them they serve as precisely so much capital, upon which they trade and make profit exactly as if they were their own. I tell the people that in this way the Administration holds a power over thirty or forty banks in the different States, that, if exerted, would crush three fourths of the number in a day. I tell them that a power of life and death over thirty or forty banks is a power over the directors, stockholders, and their debtors to a greater or less degree. It is a power, to a great extent, over the money concerns of the country, and over thousands and tens of thousands of our people. I ask the people whether this power (abused or not, or to be abused or not) is not too great and dangerous a power to be lodged in the hands of any man? I ask the people whether these privileged corporations are better entitled to have the use of the public money and to make profit out of it, as if it were their own, than the States and the people of the States, by the sweat of whose brows it was earned?

And yet the banks will keep it. The States and the people will not be permitted to have it equally distributed during this Administration. Sir, it is not in the nature or temper of power to surrender any of its advantages. If this money were given up, there might not any longer be inducement for thousands and tens of thousands of those now engaged in the work, to continue their efforts to appoint the successor, to make the Baltimore nominee the next President. If the Land bill were permitted to pass, this money would be handed over to the States, for the use of the people of the States. More than nine hundred thousand dollars would immediately go to my own State. In internal improvement, education, railroads, and the many other beneficial forms in which it might be applied, it would give a prodigious impulse to the wealth, prosperity, and happiness of the people of that State. Really it seems that this surplus and useless public money had as well go to the use of the people of the States, to make them prosperous and happy, as to go to the use of the banks to build up overgrown fortunes for the stockholders. But our venerable President thinks otherwise; and what Senator shall dare to call himself the friend of the President, if he dare to think differently?

The Senator from Missouri (Mr. Benton) distinctly says that this gigantic scheme of national defence was introduced expressly to defeat the Land bill, and to prevent an equal distribution of the surplus among the States. I thank him for this frank and manly avowal. We now understand each other. These, then, are competing propositions. Let us calmly examine the merits of each. I beg the people to examine them calmly, fairly, and dispassionately. It is a great and interesting question. It must give rise to a keen and protracted contest. The parties on either side are

strong and powerful. The States and the people, on one side, against the General Government, and its officeholders, friends, and retainers, on the other. These are the parties. I take my stand on the side of the States and the people. I take it with confidence, though with certain knowledge that all our present efforts will be defeated. A rejoice to see every party compelled to take position. I am gratified to see gentlemen come up to the mark. There is no middle ground. They must fall into the ranks on the side of the States and the people, or they must fall into the ranks of this Government and its official crops. Take position, gentlemen. Let the people see where you are. I know your strength. I know that present defeat is our lot. We know that our cause is good, and, with the blessing of God, we shall be ready to do battle for it, from day to day, from year to year; yes, sir, firmly and fearlessly will we do battle for it, for the term of the longest of the Punic wars. The people will look on; they will investigate its merits; they will come to our aid; they will achieve the victory over power and its friends and myrmidons, even in their entrenchments. Sir, I know we are beaten for the present. The official corps and its adherents have a tower of strength in the President and his veto. They will keep the money for a while. The President's influence may screen and sustain them yet a little longer. Beware of the hour when that protection shall be withdrawn. Beware of the vengeance of an abused people. You may bind poppies, mingled with the laurel of New Orleans, yet a little longer round the brows of the people. But beware: the day of retribution will surely come. Many of us may, and most probably will, sink under the hoof of power. "The blood of the martyr is the seed of the church." There will be those to follow who will drive the spoiler from his prey.

I have said the States and the people are on one side. Is it not so? Have not the most decisive expressions of popular opinion been heard, in the old States, in favor of the Land bill? Have not the Legislatures that were free from party control expressed their approbation strongly? Do they not know that the public debt is paid? Do they not know that the money here is not needed, and cannot be properly used? Do they not know that this superabundance destroys responsibility, begets extravagance, and must end in profligacy and corruption? Do they not know that it is in this form only that they can hope to be sharers in this rich and princely public domain? Do they not know that an equal distribution would awaken enterprise, stimulate industry, and enrich and embellish the States? And is it wonderful that the people everywhere desire the measure? But not so the politicians. To them it is worm-wood and gall. To the great "spoils party" it brings terror and alarm. To all others it brings healing on its wings, unless, perchance, to a very few whose pride of opinion may be startled, or to some from the new States, who may hope by other modes to derive yet greater benefits from the public lands than this measure promises. If the measure shall pass, I know it will be vetoed. That is a great evil, and yet I would not abrogate, modify, or touch the veto power. I regard the veto as one of the contrivances in our system to break the shock of consolidated power; a wise contrivance to break sudden excesses in legislative action. In the long run, it must yield to the settled, dispassionate judgment of the country. In this case, I venture to predict that result. But the "spoils party"—how is it that this party can have an interest distinct and separate from the communities through which it is distributed? Let us look into this matter.

This great scheme of civil and political liberty of ours, the admiration and wonder of the age, is yet but an experiment; an experiment thus far illustrating, and gloriously illustrating, the truth of the great principle upon which our whole system rests—that man is capable of self-government. This system, in its successful and splendid career, is year by year developing new symptoms, new tendencies, and unforeseen phenomena; some portending evil, others full of refreshing promise and encouragement.

In the early and purer times of the Republic, parties were divided upon great principles, growing out of the workings of the system itself. With equal zeal and patriotism, they took essentially different views of the tendencies of the system. This diversity of opinion was found in every State, connected with no local interest or sectional bias, but having reference solely to great questions, on which each and every part of the body politic had an equal interest.

These parties were the best and purest that have sprung up in our history. Time alone could settle the great questions between them. In the progress of events, these parties took a tinge from sectional prejudice and local interest, and were exposed to other occasional disturbances and deflections, from strong and heady personal ambition. In the fulness of time, in more than half the States, they lost almost every thing but their names, and were merged in the great and fearful vortex of sectional interest, and sectional interest alone, except so far as personal ambition yet clung to them, and occasionally modified their action. This modification of parties existed at or about the time that I first took a place in the

councils of the Union. I then regarded them as having taken the most dangerous, the most remorseless, and the very worst combination that was compatible with the forms of the Constitution, and a reasonable guaranty of practical liberty. How short-sighted and how erroneous were my views. This modification, resting essentially upon great sectional interests, banded together for the oppression and legislative plunder of the rest, produced an irregular over-action in the political machine, as well as in the great pecuniary interests of the country. This again ran into a new modification, or rather produced a political phenomenon, eluding, as yet, the calculations of the philosophers in reference either to the probable term of its duration, or the magnitude and extent of its mischief.

We now see, for the first time in this country, a great, numerous, and powerful party, formed without reference to any great principles of national policy, without regard to sectional interests, maintaining a sort of neutral ground upon all the interesting and deeply agitating questions of the times—a middle position, from which, with a dextrous skill in the art of balancing, they may incline to the north, south, east or west, as exigencies may require; neither tariff, nor anti-tariff; neither internal improvement, nor anti-internal improvement; neither abolitionists, nor anti-abolitionists—different sections of the party holding antagonist principles upon all these questions; and the party itself, or rather the heads of it, holding at different periods, opinions favorable to both sides of these, as well as other vital questions. We see them disregarding or despising principle, acknowledging no test, save only that of loyalty to their chief for the time being, and the behests of party, knitted together by selfish interests; with no element of coherence but the love of office and the desire of public plunder.

This party has acquired the appropriate and significant appellation of "The Spoils Party." The idea was first suggested by one of their high priests, who ministers with becoming devotion at the altars reeking with public spoils. They go for office and the spoils of office. Their greatest interests are centred in the treasury and the offices of the country. To increase the means of the treasury, and to multiply offices, contracts, and jobs, is to increase their prosperity. It is clear that the interests of the Spoils party is directly opposite to the interests of the people. It is equally clear that they are a corps separate and alone, having a common interest among themselves, but no interest in common with the rest of the community. As they have a separate interest, so they have a separate organization, which, in its character, is hard, stern, and inexorable.

They are in the nature of a great military encampment in the midst of a peaceful community, living upon the fruits of honest men's labor, feared, hated, and yet for the most part implicitly obeyed. Their discipline is exact, and their strategy masterly. They occupy every important post throughout the Union. They are moved by a single will. An impulse at the centre is felt throughout the extremities. They are endowed with a sort of political ubiquity. A single word of command from head-quarters brings upon foot more than a hundred thousand office-holders and expectants dispersed throughout the Union, animated by one spirit, and intent upon a single object. Reinforced by a subsidized press, they simultaneously utter a spurious coinage of public opinion, which is borne from the extremities to the centre, whence the reflux sweeps over the entire Confederacy. By this process, a man of straw, or certainly a John Dea, Richard Fen, may be presented as a Presidential candidate with high claims and a commanding popularity. To consummate the scheme, another order issues for a great Baltimore Convention "freed from the people," to determine precedence between the rival pretenders to the throne. This train band is instantly afoot, delegates are sent, some with and some without constituents. They take their seats in convention, with cap at hand, ready to register the edicts of their chief—the dispenser of the spoils; and these edicts are sent to all the ends of the earth, as the collected will and wisdom of "The great Democratic Republican Party."

It is easy to perceive that no merit, however exalted, no public service, however illustrious, can contend, single-handed and alone, against this stupendous array of power and influence. It is easy to see, if the President for the time being shall place himself at the head of this fearful organization, bringing his official power, patronage, and influence to bear upon freedom of opinion and the freedom of suffrage, that successful resistance will be difficult, nay almost impossible. It is easy to see that, if the people shall rise in their might, while it is yet early, and brand with scorn all arrogant interference with their rights, and impudent attempts to dictate the succession, the day is not far distant when they will surrender in despair, and abandon all hope of ever seeing another President freely chosen by the unbiased suffrage of the people.

Sir, I pronounce it as my deliberate solemn conviction, that if the people, the pending contest, shall not rise in the strength and rebuke Executive interference, and the odious dictation of a

cessor, unless convulsion shall produce a new state of things, we shall never see another President freely chosen. Not more surely did the Emperors of Rome, backed by their Praetorian bands in the worst periods of her history, dictate the succession, than will this organization, headed by the President, appoint, from term to term, his successor. If this organization shall prevail at this time, where is the ground of hope for defeating it in the future? Will the people ever have a stronger case, or can the powers that be well have a weaker one?

Is their nominee either eminent for talent or illustrious for public service? Where are the fruits of his ability, or the monuments of his statesmanship? Where the proof of elevation of principle, broad, statesmanlike views, decision of character, or pure political integrity? Where? And yet, without pretension to distinguished public service; without eminence of ability, or (least of all) high public virtue, he is a powerful and formidable competitor. Who can estimate the power and influence of "The Spoils Party?" Look to the entire South. You see their candidate holding a doubtful struggle in every State, save one, from the Potomac to the Gulf of Mexico, against an eminent citizen of their own, with identity of views, identity of principles, and a common interest. You see him borne on without a feeling in common, a principle in common, or an interest in common, with the great body of our people. You see him borne on, in despite of his having been against them upon odious tariffs; against them upon the prodigal squandering of money upon internal improvements; against them upon the slave question; and against them upon every essential view touching the pure and economical administration of this Government.

Sir, what individual popularity, necessarily local, can contend against this factitious popularity, endowed with ubiquity, and supported by the keenest selfish interest? Sir, the only hope is in the virtue and intelligence of the people. And yet the people, scattered, dispersed, without unity of purpose and concert of action, can make but feeble head against a corps, powerful, disciplined, active, and controlled by a single will. The truth is, organization must be met with organization, as far as practicable, or the freedom of election will be gone forever.

To return, Sir, what are we debating about? The loss of the fortification bill at the last session. Why consume time in criminalizing the Senate, supposing this body to be culpable? Gentlemen say the horizon is lowering; that a cloud of war hangs upon its distant verge in the East; that it may yet come and burst upon us in its fury. They say our maritime frontier is naked and defenceless, and that we are destitute of all the munitions of war. Why, then, consume time in vain and unprofitable discussion? Why have two months of the session been suffered to pass without Executive recommendation, or any estimates from the Departments for extraordinary appropriations? Why does the Executive Department sleep, while the enemy are upon us? Why do gentlemen waste the precious time in a war of words, when they should, according to their own views, be preparing for a sterner war? What bill have they introduced? What measure have they proposed? The French fleet of fifty or sixty sail, it is said, is hovering on our coast. They came to overawe the deliberations of the Senate or to strike a decisive blow. Are the friends of the Administration paralyzed? What preparation have they made to meet this formidable enemy? What preparation have they proposed? What increase of the naval power? Sir, they have a proposition on the subject of the naval defences. What do you suppose it is? Ten or twenty line of battle ships of the first class? No, sir, it is much more modest. The Administration asks for two frigates, one sloop, and one steam battery.

If gentlemen suppose their alarms well founded, what must they think of the incoherence, the imbecility, yes, sir, and the fatuity, of the Administration that they seem so proud to support? Sir, gentlemen must be satisfied by this time that they are to have no war, except the war upon the Senate, and the war upon the treasury. Gentlemen say they have carried their elections, and will carry the Senate. I shall not regret it. This body, then, may look for a cessation of hostilities. It needs repose. Besides, it is time that gentlemen should take the whole responsibility of their measures. Who will not feel a sentiment of compassion for the distressed and annoyances of our venerable President, when he shall get possession of the Senate? How many debts are unpaid? How many importunate claimants of office—how many sturdy beggars, supple sycophants, and despicable tools, have been turned away with soothing assurances and bitter denunciations "of the factious Senate," that would not allow the party in power to keep good faith with their friends, and fulfil their just and reasonable expectations? Will not this tribe come thundering at the doors of the presidential mansion? Will they not press upon and annoy him by day and by night? But, sir, I differ from many of my friends.

If the party had carried the Senate two years ago, though the country would have suffered in the mean time, the defenders of the Constitution and the laws would

have acquired greater strength to place them both upon a safer and more durable basis. And, sir, what are two years of lawless domination, in the life of a great Government?

The Opposition, without incurring the calumny and odium that have closed the public ear against them, would have been heard. The fruits of a weak and wicked policy would have ripened into their full maturity of bitterness. The People would have tasted them. The "glory" fruit might have been beautiful to the eye, but, like the fabled fruit on the borders of the Red sea, would to the taste have turned to ashes and bitterness.

The People may yet have to taste some of these bitter fruits. If an explosion shall come, as come it must sooner or later, in the paper system, and twenty or thirty millions of public money shall be lost by broken banks, (which is not at all improbable), the wise and sober-minded may regard it as a bitter fruit of the "hard money" humbug. The faithful will defend it as not too high a price for the "glory" of the experiment.

If war shall come, I learn from military men that a thousand or fifteen hundred gun-carriages will be immediately needed to work the guns in the fortresses now ready to receive them. I learn that there are scarcely one hundred fit for use, and that, with all the labor that can be applied to it, not more than one hundred and fifty or sixty can be made in a month. So that, notwithstanding regular appropriations for that object have been made for the last seven years, not more than one hundred guns can be mounted, nor can the full number for five or six months. This is a fair specimen of the ability and vigilance to be found, nowadays, in the public service. Sir, the fact cannot be disguised, that almost every department of the Government is in a state little short of utter disorganization.

The only department over which energy, skill, science, and a sleepless vigilance preside, is the one unknown to the law, created during this Administration, without law and against law, but yet well known in practice—I mean the electioneering department. In this last department every thing is full of life, activity, vigor, alertness, and precision. If the elections of a State are to be carried, though we have but few gun carriages, yet every gun is brought to bear upon it; emissaries and agents are afoot, the whole battery of the press opens, and the whole pack unloosed; and, amidst shouts of glorification, humbug, calumny, smoke, smut, fire and thunder, victory usually perches on the banner of this department, and approves it well worthy of its high and distinguished reputation. If State Legislatures are to be carried, whether to make Senators, or to make "black lines," no troops but such as the Spartans of Tennessee, or the Romans of Pennsylvania, can guard against insidious surprise, or repel the fury of assault. But as to the other departments, their condition can neither command admiration nor excite envy.

The Post Office Department sunk, two years ago, under a load of guilt, corruption, and disgusting rottenness. The public eye was turned for a moment on a spectacle so appalling in so young a Government, but it was again dazzled by the glory of this Administration, and the whole Department, with its rottenness and corruptions, passed from under the eye as it passed out of the minds of men. It scarcely produced a sensation, it hardly left an impression. I trust it is getting better under the present head; I hear that it is, in its financial condition. I would humbly suggest that a little more expedition and a little better sealing-wax might decidedly enhance its usefulness and character.

The State Department may safely rest its hopes of immortality upon its masterly diplomacy in the late negotiation with France. Besides the enduring fame in lexicography which it has achieved for our country, it has well nigh got us into a war with our earliest friend, and most ancient ally, upon a cause so slight that it might have defied the inventive genius and wily dexterity of Talleyrand himself to make so much of it.

The Treasury Department, I trust, keeps a steady eye on its deposit banks, and the "better currency." If, when they shall come to account for the thirty millions in their vaults, they shall be as wide of the mark as are the Secretary's reports and estimates to Congress, the Government will be either very rich or very poor. If I might take the liberty, I would recommend the purchase of Pike's arithmetic. Learning and science in this enlightening age, whether in lexicography or arithmetic, are quite commendable, particularly in a Department.

There can be no reason to doubt that the Secretary of the Navy will infuse into that branch of the public service a sufficient degree of zeal and energy to have his two frigates, his sloop, and steam battery in the highest condition by the arrival of the French fleet of sixty sail on our coast.

Of the War Department—but of that I will say nothing, for I know but little. If I knew any thing in it demanding censure, it would give me no pleasure, indeed, it would cost me pain, to cast it. But this I will say, that I sincerely hope, when we shall come to look into the causes of this disastrous and disgraceful Indian war in Florida, no ground for censure will be found either in the want of good faith, of due forecast, or a sea-

sonable preparation to meet the exigency. Sir, one feels, while ranging in these Departments, that he is in the midst of a wilderness of sweets. I will pursue the subject no further for the present; I may, on some future occasion, in an humble way, pluck a few of them.

HILLSBOROUGH.

Friday, April 1.

A few weeks ago, the editor of the Standard made a furious attack upon the character of the Hon. Willie P. Mangum, and accused us of aiding and abetting, giving countenance and support to the treason and contumacy. The remarks which we had made we knew to be founded in truth and justice; and to this day the editor of the Standard has not ventured to controvert one of our positions. Presuming upon the credulity of his readers, he appears to think that his broad assertions and wholesale denunciations will pass current, without argument or facts to support them. In the article to which we have alluded, he charged Mr. Mangum with having, in a late speech, "taken sides against his own country, and vilified its administration for maintaining the honor and integrity of the nation." At the time of reading this article we had before us a sketch of the speech, or rather a caricature of it, which had been copied from the columns of the Globe. This we read over, and as we could find nothing in it which could justify the construction which the Standard had put upon it, we promised to give the sketch, that our readers might judge upon what slender foundation the Standard ventured his assertions. When we afterwards took up the copy to put it in type, its meagerness struck us so forcibly that we turned over a file of the Intelligencer in search of a more complete copy. Not being able, however, to find one, we went on with the copy in hand. And we do not now regret that we did so; for it not only takes away all justification from the Standard, but exhibits a specimen of the sort of justice which the Globe exercises towards those members of Congress who are not of "the party." Since then we have had the pleasure of reading in the Intelligencer a full report of the speech, and find it able and patriotic, and worthy of the speaker. If the editor of the Standard had one spark of honor, he would blush for his assertions, when he reads in the speech such expressions as the following: "The French Chamber had taken a false position." "I for one, as an humble American citizen, protest against all or any explanation, in any manner whatsoever. If France has any ground of complaint, let her first perform her own duty, pay the money solemnly stipulated by the treaty, and then, and not till then, demand reparation for any injury, real or imaginary, to the French government and people."

But we refer our readers to the speech itself, which we have crowded into this week's paper, to the exclusion of many other articles. It is worthy of an attentive perusal. If to some of our readers its length should be an obstacle, the difficulty can be overcome by dividing the speech and reading at intervals. And after finishing it, let them ask the question, "What has this talented son of North Carolina done, that he should be discarded from the councils of the nation?"

The Rev. Adam Empe, D. D., President of William and Mary College, Virginia, has, we learn, been elected Rector of the Episcopal School at Raleigh, in place of J. G. Cogswell, esq. who has been compelled to withdraw on account of declining health.

Horrid Murder.—On Friday the 18th inst. a man named Hugh Horseford, was shot dead while ploughing in his field by William North, there had been a previous misunderstanding between the parties, when North threatened to kill Horseford; on the morning of the murder North purchased a gun at a neighboring store, with which he perpetrated the deed. After the murder he was immediately arrested, and is now in jail awaiting his trial—both resided in Rockingham, N. C. Horseford was married and has left a wife and several children.

Danville Reporter.

FROM FLORIDA.

The late intelligence from Florida is highly interesting and important. The following particulars are extracted from the Jacksonville Courier extra of the 17th of March.

The force under Gen. Clinch, which went to the relief of Gen. Gaines, consisted of four companies of mounted volunteers, about seventy friendly Indians, and some regulars, in all about seven hundred men.

The night before the arrival of Gen. Clinch, Oseola sent a negro to the camp of Gen. Gaines, requesting an interview, and promising to stop killing white men if he would stop killing the Indians. This proposition was agreed to, and Oseola was told to come next day with a white flag, and they would have a talk with him. The next day, in company with another chief, he came to within about one hundred yards of the fort, waived his white flag around three times, and sat down upon a log. Three officers from the camp went to meet him.

Oseola informed them that Gen. Clinch was on his way to join them with a large number of horsemen. He expressed his willingness that hostilities cease, and to give up his arms. The officers required him to sign articles of agreement, by which he would bind himself to proceed immediately to Tampa Bay, and there embark for the Mississippi. Some say that Oseola objected to this mode of removing, and wished to go by land. Others that he would not promise to go at all, but wished to live the other side of the Withlacoochee, and to have that for the boundary line between them and the whites. Their discussion was interrupted by the arrival of General Clinch. During the course of it, Oseola inquired how they were off for provisions. They told him, they had a plenty. He said, he knew they had not, and if they would come over the river, he would give them two beaves and a bottle of brandy.

As Gen. Clinch approached, the friendly Indians, discovering the hostile Indians about 300 yards from the camp of Gen. Gaines, raised the whoop, which was immediately followed by one from the hostile Indians. The men immediately formed and fired a platoon. The Indians fled and were closely pursued. A runner then came from Gen. Gaines ordering them to stop and informing them that Oseola was treating with them. At first, those in pursuit could not be restrained; but the cry of "Treaty," "Treaty," soon checked them. Gen. Clinch then formed and proceeded to camp.

A letter written after their arrival, dated Head Quarters, Camp Izard, on the Withlacoochee, March 8th, contains some interesting particulars.

On reaching the camp, Gen. Clinch found its inmates in great distress. They were literally in a state of starvation. They had killed and eaten several horses and dogs. One soldier, having stolen a dog and killed it, sold one of the quarters for five dollars. For this act of stealing, killing, or selling, or all together, he received a severe flogging. One man gave six dollars for a piece of horse's entrails about a foot long. Five dollars were given for a biscuit and the same for a quart of corn. We forbear to mention many other facts, showing what hunger will compel men to do, which are related of these poor, patriotic men, thus surrounded and suffering in a savage wilderness. Yet there was perfect subordination, and every man was prompt in the discharge of duty.

The evening of that day, Oseola sent word to Gen. Gaines, that if he would send away the horsemen, they would come and surrender their arms. They were not sent away. After waiting three days to hear more of Oseola, and not having provisions to remain longer, Gaines returned to Fort Drane, at which place Oseola was to have met him, Monday last. He then transferred the command to Clinch, and left for New Orleans by the way of Tallahassee.

This movement of Oseola, in requesting an interview, when Gen. Gaines had been entirely surrounded by his followers for several days, is inexplicable, and seems to have taken all by surprise. Whether it was an artifice, devised on hearing of the approach of a reinforcement, to give time to make a safe retreat; or a stratagem, by which, after introducing 500 Indians within the breastwork under pretence of surrendering their arms, he intended to make an attack with his main force, and to massacre the whole before Clinch could render assistance; or, as he says, he is really tired of murdering white men, time alone can now decide. Though Oseola has courage and cunning to plan and execute almost any bold movement, we sincerely hope, he has seen the folly of further resistance, and that the Indians will now surrender their arms, and remove. Should this be the case, Gen. Gaines will receive a Nation's thanks and a valiant General's fame.

For the manner in which he has conducted his part of the campaign, much credit is due. His alacrity in bringing so large a force, his march from Tampa Bay, and the burial of the unfortunate Waj. Dade and his companions, entitle him to the gratitude of the citizens of Florida, to whose cry of distress he so promptly came, and of the afflicted relatives and friends of the unfortunate men, whose bodies were strewn over the plain, and upon which the vultures were batten.

In another part of Florida, three of the Charleston volunteers were killed by the Indians.

FARTHER PARTICULARS.

Several officers, who left Fort Drane on the 16th, arrived at Savannah, state that Gen. Gaines entered into an agreement with the Indians to the following effect: That the Indians and their chiefs should retire beyond the Withlacoochee, and there remain peaceably until the wishes of the Government are known—these commissioners would be sent them by the proper authorities to express those wishes, and that the chiefs should assemble at any time and place, when and where they should be required. The general impression when these officers left Fort Drane was, that the war was at an end. No hostile Indians have been seen by the Army since Gen. Gaines left the Withlacoochee. Most of the friendly Indians with *Black Dirt*, their chief, have returned to Tampa,

deeming their services no longer necessary.

The whole army was in fine health and spirits, and was expected to leave Fort Drane for Gen. Gaines's battle ground on the 25th.

Two gentlemen passed through Columbia on the 23rd ultimo, bearing despatches from Gen. Scott to the Government, who stated that the Indians had surrendered, and that hostilities had ceased.

The committee appointed by the Whig Convention of Rhode Island have nominated Tristram Burgess and John H. Cross for Governor and Lieutenant Governor of that state.

Weekly Almanac.

APRIL.	Sun	Mon	Tues	Wed	Thurs	Fri	Sat
1 Friday,	5 47	5 13					
2 Saturday,	5 45	5 15					
3 Sunday,	5 44	5 16					
4 Monday,	5 43	5 17					
5 Tuesday,	5 42	5 18					
6 Wednesday,	5 41	5 19					
7 Thursday,	5 40	5 20					

A List of Letters,

Remaining in the Post Office at Hillsborough, on the 1st day of April, 1836, which if not taken out in three months, will be sent to the General Post Office as dead letters.

A	Sullivan Leigh
Selden Arnold	Miss Brany Martin
Martha Anderson	Andrew W. dock
Wm. E. Anderson	A. D. Morphy 2
Mrs. Mary E. Anderson	Thos. C. Moore or Samuel Strayhorn
John Booth	Thos. M. Craven
Mrs. Elizabeth Boykin	Mrs. Nancy Moore
Clerk of the Court of Orange	Anderson alone
Henry N. Daughtrey	Wm. Nelson
Burton Clarke	James W. Nobles
John Cheek, Clergy	O
Thos. Christian	James Outlaw
Wm. Cobb	Henderson Owen
John Clark	P
John Coley 2	Gideon Price
Charles Coley 2	Loften K. Pratt
James Clark	Jno. Pope & Co.
James Christie	Anthony Peltier
Wm. Chambers, jr.	James Parks
Stated Clerk of the Presbytery of Orange	Nancy Peterson
Nath. Critcher or Burton Clark	R
Reuben Carden	Archibald Riggs
H. E. Dickenson	John Rider
Willis B. Dillard	Wiley Riggs
F	William Rose
Thomas Fossett	William Robertson
Mary S. Ferrand	Eliza D. Reeves
John Faucette	S
G	John Scott
Stephen Glass	W. Southerland
Thos. W. Gooch	John Shaw
H	Samuel Stubbs
Thomas W. Holden	Alonso S. Sprague
David Hart	James Scarlett
Elizabeth Holder	Sheriff of Orange 3
F. or H. Hall	L. L. Stephenson
Wm. Horne	Wyngh H. Scott
Dr. J. Hemsley	Hiram Strain
Nathaniel Hicks	William Strayhorn
J. S. High	T
Levi Jackson	Catlet C. Tinnin 2
Edmund Jones	Robert E. Troy
Thomas Jones	John W. Thompson
K	Alsey Thompson
Wm. Kirkland	V
Daniel W. Keer	Jesse Vickers
L	W
Isaac Laws	William B. Williams
Frances Lewis	N. A. Williams
Jas. Lindley or Lindsey	Rev. Henry Wood
	George Walker
	David Williams
	W. N. Whitted
	DeBumia Walker

Those calling for advertised letters will please say they are advertised.

THOMAS CLANCY, P. M.

April 1. 13-

LOOK AT THIS!

I AM already called on by the Post Office Department to pay to the Contractor on this line what is due to that department. I do therefore most earnestly hope that all who are in arrears for either letter or newspaper postage, will call and pay their respective dues, as I have no other means of paying, and no indulgence will be given to me.

THOS. CLANCY, P. M.

April 1. 13-

FIVE CENTS REWARD!

RAN away from the subscriber, on Sunday the 30th of March, a bound boy by the name of GEORGE O'DANIEL, about eighteen years of age, full face, dark hair, stout built. All persons are forbid harbouring him, under the penalty of the law. A reward of five cents will be given for his apprehension, but no charges paid nor thanks given.

JAMES CRUTCHFIELD.

April 1. 12-3w

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, Orange County.

Superior Court of Law, March Term, 1836.

The State v. Arson. Removal for trial on the second Monday in May next, to Caswell county.

Henry Harris

THE Prisoner being a man of colour, and it being suggested to the Court here that he is supposed to be a runaway slave, but the owner being unknown; It is therefore ordered, that publication be made for four weeks in one of the papers printed in this state, giving notice that his owner, if he be a slave, may come forward and defend him. The said Henry Harris is stout made, six feet high, yellowish complexion, very active and intelligent, quick spoken, and very brilliant eyes. He had heretofore been convicted of petit larceny and sentenced to the jail of said county of Orange; and was also committed as a runaway slave, not being able to give an account of his freedom, &c. During his said confinement he committed Arson by burning the jail of said county of Orange; and at the Term last aforesaid, was by the Court ordered to be sent to Person county jail for safe keeping.

Witness George W. Bruce, Clerk of our said Court, at office, in Hillsborough, the second Monday of March, A. D. 1836.

GEO. W. BRUCE, C. S. C.

March 28. 12-5w



From the Poughkeepsie Telegraph.

WOULD YOU BE HAPPY?

Would you be happy? Yes I know
This prize is sought by all below:
Yet few, alas! the prize obtain,
For most who seek it seek in vain!

Would you be happy? Shun the way
Of sinful pleasures—shun the gay
Set trifling sports which lure to woe
The souls that in their footsteps go.

Would you be happy? Let your mind
Be well improved—your taste refined—
Your friends be few, but wise and good—
Your books well read, well understood.

Would you be happy? You must love
And serve the God who reigns above;
Repent of sin—in Christ believe—
And you shall happiness receive.

Yes, you'll be happy—happy here,
How dark soe'er the world appear—
Happy in life—and with the best,
Thrice happy you in death shall rest.

M'C—d.

CAPTAIN KIDD.

The notorious Capt. Kidd, on returning from an inland exploring expedition one cold afternoon in December, accidentally came upon the body of a man who had been frozen to death in the forest. As he felt little interest in the comings and goings of mortality, any farther than his own existence and that of his associates, he would not have passed the corpse of the unfortunate man with a single glance of his staff, had not a new pair of pegged cow-hide boots which graced the legs of the defunct, presented an enviable superiority when contrasted with his own ragged and soleless brogans. Upon this hint he pulled—but the boots clung to their owner's legs with such an affectionate grasp that he was unable to start them. After taking breath he tried them again, toe and heel, first one and then the other; at length, tired of practising the boot jack with so little success, he had nearly got the better of his covetous thought, when he hit upon the happy expedient of taking boots, legs and all, and thawing them out at his leisure. At it he went, slashing away right and left, a very expeditious if not a skilful surgeon, making the knife with which he usually cut his food do glorious service on the legs of the frozen unknown; a few moments made a sad cripple of the carcass, and slowing away the prizes in his empty provision bag, Kidd began to 'leg it' seawards at a rapid pace.

In spite of all his speed, however, he was brought some eight or ten miles from the place where he expected to meet his associates. Being in no great haste to reach his destination, he concluded to halt for the night at a little collection of houses at the edge of the forest, and push on again at the dawn of day. He rapped at the door of the nearest habitation, and was welcomed with a hearty 'Walk in.' And in he went. A little old woman, done up in a black bombazine gown and an enormous cotton frizzle cap, with a dirty looking yellow ribbon dangling around it,

and a queer looking old man, arrayed in a snuff-colored hob-tail coat, and a pair of aged hunting breeches, sat crouching over a fire of sappy sizzling wood, in the opposite corner of a spacious fireplace. On the hearth a huge Newfoundland dog and a couple of very decent sized cats, lay stretched at full length, enjoying a most delightful snooze. Kidd threw down his provision bag in one corner of the room, and hawled a chair into the domestic circle round the fire. After taking a 'cold bite,' and discussing matters and things for an hour or two over a mug of cider and a noggin of apples, old Contentment and his wife crawled off to bed in an adjoining room, and left the Captain to take his repose on a heap of rugs and skins beside the fire—the best extra lodgings the house afforded. Accordingly he extended his frame on the humble pallet, and soon fell into a gentle doze.

He dreamed—and the events of the previous day shaped the images that disturbed his mind. He imagined he was chased by more than a hundred human legs with new boots on, and whenever he sought shelter from those bodiless enemies, he found himself surrounded by as many men nobbling about on stumps of legs! At length he imagined himself fairly cornered, the legs began to kick him, and the men beat him with their fists. In his exertions to release himself from his imaginary enemies, he extended his right arm with great force, and knocked a light stand which stood near, half way across the room.

'What's the matter there, Mister?' cried old Contentment in the bed room. 'B-u-h! b-u-h!' growled the dog in the sink room—and all was still again. 'Dreaming of legs and boots,' thought Kidd, now wide awake, 'puts me in mind of a very nice set that I saw a chap lugging home yesterday in a bag—frozen some to be sure—but warm water will

fetch them to rights; by the way I guess I'll see what effect the fire will have on 'em.'

With this reflection, he rose from his couch as carefully as possible, and placing his new boots near the fire, crept back to his nest, and slept like a stage horse till morning.

When he awoke it was broad daylight, much later than he intended to have remained in the village. He was off, quicker than ever a fly left a mustard pot, without saying a word to his host. In his hurry he forgot his baggage, and neglected to close doors and windows after him. The savory smell of the thawing legs soon invited the great lubberly house dog and his feline associates into the kitchen, and after some preliminary sniffs and sly glances at each other, they made a regular attack on these agreeable delicacies, sparing neither boot nor bone in their eagerness to get a proper share. When the folks rose, the floor was covered with bones and daubed with blood; one of the legs was most 'catawampously' chewed up, and the trio were making mince meat of the other amazingly fast.

'Oh! Lud!' screamed the lady, who was the first on the docket, 'what upon airth is the matter!'

'What is't ails ye?' said the old man, half awake.

'Oh, mercy! mercy! the dog is eating up the traveller!—get out, Bose!'

The old man jumped out of bed as if touched with a red hot iron. One look at the scene of carnage was sufficient. He darted through the room into the street in his night dress, bellowing something or other, he hardly knew what himself—and the sight of a man in such a predicament, at such a time, making such a tremendous racket, soon roused all the neighbors within half a mile, and collected a crowd of gaping auditors at the door of the house, to whom the story of the traveller's fate was related for the fifteenth time; and they retired, one after another, believing to a man that the hero of our tale had been eaten up by a dog!

FALSE FRIENDSHIP.

'My dear sir, you are heartily welcome to town,' said a spruce dressed citizen, as he helped his friend to alight from the stage, 'pray come home with me. I expect you will make my house your own while you stay in town; there is nothing in my power I will not do to make it agreeable to you. I have depended upon your company—my whole house is at your service.'

This over acted complaisance made me suspect his sincerity, or that he had some sinister point in view; so, putting my ring on my finger, I followed him home.

'I am greatly obliged to you,' said the country gentleman, as he sat down to the breakfast table; 'the invitation you have given me is very acceptable; I have lost the estate I have been so long at law about, for want of sufficient evidence; and when I have paid the costs I shall not have more than two hundred pounds left, with which I mean to purchase an annuity; therefore I shall make your house my home till I can settle my affairs.'

'It may be sometime before you can settle your business to your satisfaction,' replied the citizen, his features contracting into cold civility, 'and I expect a gentleman to take my first floor in about a week; I am very sorry I cannot accommodate you longer.'

'My dear Mr. Woollet, cries the wife, hastily entering, 'I am vastly glad to see you.'

'Mr. Woollet has lost his law-suit, my dear,' said the husband.

The smile of welcome was instantly changed into a look of amazement; she advanced to give him her hand; but on his attempting to salute her, she withdrew her cheek, exclaiming, 'I am sorry for his disappointment,' and began to make the tea. He drank two dishes of tea, and then asked his friend to lend him two guineas. 'He had it not in the house; trade was very precarious—he again mentioned his expected lodger, and recommended a mean room to his friend at half a crown per week, in an obscure lane in the city. O, self interest! how dost thou deaden every virtue, lead to hypocrisy and vice, and make us what we would be ashamed to own, mean, avaricious and unfeeling! Would I change the feeling heart for all the interested views this world affords? Oh, no! give me sensibility to feel another's woe, and then I shall feel as I ought my own happiness.'

'It is vexatious,' said Mr. Woollet, as he arose from breakfast, 'that I cannot stay here, as I have no ready money to procure a lodging.' No answer was made. 'Can't I have a room on your second floor, Mr. Sewall?' 'Really sir, they are all occupied.' 'I do not know what to do; I must beg you to lend me half a guinea till next week.' 'I cannot, upon my word, sir.'

Mr. Woollet summoned up a look of expressive anger and contempt, and fixing his eyes on his false friend, cried, 'he who can refuse half a guinea to my necessities, shall never share my prosperity.' Know, selfish man, I have gained my cause, and am at this moment master of two thousand pounds per annum. Then turning from them he hastily left the house.

I stood for a moment to view their con-

fusion; they spoke not a word, but giving each other the keenest looks of reproach, separated in sullen silence.

Invisible Rambler.

A singular scene was exhibited in the court before the church of Notre Dame, in Paris. A crowd was assembled, from which issued cries of distress, on seeing upon the summit of the tower two persons preparing to precipitate a woman upon the pavement. As well as the distance would allow a clear view of it, the malefactors were perceived gazing the sufferer to prevent her from crying out, and they had tied her hands behind her back. Shouts of 'The Assassins!' resounded from the indignant crowd. The door of the keeper of the tower was assailed with knocking. There were shouts for the gendarmes. A national guard came with his musket, with which he took aim at the murderers, but this had no effect. The poor woman fell; she struck against the capital of one of the columns and was dashed to pieces! To a sensation of horror which it would be difficult to describe, succeeded inexhaustible laughter. The unfortunate victim was nothing but a stuffed figure.

La Revue du Havre relates the following fact:—A husbandman in the neighborhood of Montivilliers found, six weeks ago, while laboring in his field, a vase of dirty metal, which he took for lead; after having rubbed it with wet earth, he carried it home with him, and on the following day he sold it to a strolling brazier for half a dozen pewter spoons, thinking that he had made an excellent bargain; the brazier at the same time believing that he had purchased a copper vessel washed with silver. Finding from the form of the vase and its bulk, a difficulty in placing it in his scuttle, he bent it by repeated blows of the hammer, and then continued his route through Dieppe towards the north. Having arrived at Boulogne, he put up at an inn, hung up his baggage and began to make preparations for tinning the stewpans of his care. An Englishman present perceiving in the midst of this kitchen tackle the deformed vase, took it up in his hand, examined it with as much attention as surprise, and at length agreed to give the brazier the sum of five francs for it. Taking it up stairs with him, he recognized in the bargain which he had made an antique cup of pure silver, ornamented with figures in bas-relief, and of the most exquisite workmanship; the blows of the hammer had very slightly damaged it. He took his treasure to London, a goldsmith restored it to its original form, and a member of the British parliament, a great lover of antiques, purchased it of the fortunate possessor for fifteen thousand francs.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN.
THAT at the last term of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions for Orange county, letters of administration upon the estate of JOHN RIDER, deceased, were granted to the subscriber; all persons indebted to the said estate are requested to make immediate payment, and those having claims against the same, to present them, properly authenticated, within the time prescribed by law, or this notice will be plead in bar of their recovery.

STEPHEN MOORE, Adm'r.

March 25. 011—

JANUS.

WILL stand the ensuing season, a part of his time at Hillsborough, and a part at Pratt's store. For particulars see handbills.

YANCY BAILY.

March 25. 011—4w

FORTUNE'S HOME!!

\$8,000 for \$4!

NORTH CAROLINA STATE LOTTERY.

FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE SALISBURY ACADEMY.

Fourth Class, for 1836.

To be drawn at MURFREESBOROUGH, ON Saturday, the 9th April.

ON THE POPULAR TERMINATING FIGURE SYSTEM

Stevenson & Points, Managers

CAPITAL PRIZE, \$80,000!

AND 10 PRIZES OF \$1,000!

Principal Prizes.

One prize of \$8,000—one of \$3,000—

one of \$2,000—ten of \$1,000—ten

of \$500—twelve of \$300—be-

sides many of \$200, \$100,

\$50, &c. &c.

amounting in all to

180,000 Dollars!!

Whole Ticket, 4 dollars

Halves, 2 dollars

Quarters, 1 dollar

All prizes payable in CASH, forty days after the drawing, subject to a deduction of five per cent.

Tickets for sale in the greatest variety of numbers, at my Office, one door above the store of Walker Anderson & Co., in Hillsborough, N. C.

ALLEN PARKS, Agent.

No. 37,340, \$6,000, was sold at Oxford in a package of quarter tickets.

No. 59,376, \$1,000, was sold at Hillsborough in a package of half tickets, besides many small prizes.

March 17. 011—

House and Lot For Sale.

The House and Lot on Queen street, belonging to Mary W. Burke, is for sale. The House contains six rooms, is very convenient for a small family, and pleasantly situated. On the lot are also a good Kitchen, Smoke House, and Stables. For terms apply to JAMES WEBB.

March 10. 10—

Town Property For Sale.

The subscriber offers his lots in Hillsborough for sale. The situation is one of the most eligible in the place as a private residence. It contains six acres, has a spring on it, and a constant branch running through it; the House is a comfortable family residence, containing six rooms, with four fire places, with the usual Out House, a large Barn, with convenient and roomy Stables. Also a Lot of near two acres on the opposite side of the street. This lot, a well enclosed, has a framed House on it, 30 feet by 40, with a good brick chimney. Also a Lot in the bend, containing 3 1/2 acres, a house on it used as a Stable, with one large Stall and Feed Room. This property will be sold on fair, may low terms, as the subscriber intends removing West, either for cash or credit.

ALLEN J. DAVIE.

February 25. 08—

Dr. Norwood has removed his

shop to the house formerly occupied by Mr. William Huntington as a dwelling house, two doors west of Mt. Stephen Moore's Store, where he may be found when not professionally engaged.

January 5. 02—

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN

TO the heirs and legatees of JOHN DUKE, deceased, that the subscriber is now ready to settle with them, on demand, and will not hereafter consider himself as liable for interest.

MOSES GUESS, Adm'r

March 15. 10—p

NOTICE.

THE subscribers having been qualified at the February term of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions for Orange county, as executors of the last will and testament of ROBERT TINNIN, deceased, hereby give notice to all persons indebted to said estate to make immediate payment; and those having claims will present them properly authenticated within the time prescribed by law, or this notice will be plead in bar of their recovery.

DAVID TINNIN, } Ex'rs.

C. C. TINNIN. }

February 25. 07—

CO-PARTNER WANTED.

THE business of conducting this paper has become so burthensome, that I cannot do it justice and do myself justice in other respects. I wish therefore, to take a partner into the Editorial department of the Watchman. I should regard a high degree of qualification as indispensable; for whether the present Editor possesses that or not, I am able to show irrefragable proof that the establishment is in a high degree profitable, and every way improving.

I would prefer a gentleman of the bar, who would be willing to form a co-partnership in the law practice also. Letters (post paid) will be promptly answered, detailing the affairs of the office, (more than ought to be done in an advertisement) and giving my views of all the advantages of the proposed arrangement: a personal conference, however, would be necessary before closing such a contract.

H. C. JONES.

Watchman Office, Salisbury, N. C. 07—

NOTICE.

LETTERS of administration have been granted to me on the estate of POLLY JACKSON, at the February term of Orange County Court. Persons having claims are notified to present them.

E. F. STRUDWICK, Adm'r.

February 25. 08—

STEAMBOAT

FROM

Petersburg to City Point.

THE public are respectfully informed that the New Steamboat EAGLE, Capt. Chase, has commenced running from this place to City Point, to meet the boats from and to Norfolk, and will leave in time to ensure a passage to or from that place. No fears need be apprehended by delay, as the boat draws but two feet water, which will ensure a run at all times of tide. Passage \$1. for which apply on board, or to

P. RYAN, Agent.

February 25. 08—3w

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN.

THAT at the last term of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions for Orange county, as executor of the last will and testament of THOMAS D. VAITS, deceased, hereby gives notice to all persons indebted to the estate to make immediate payment; and those having claims against it to present them as the law directs, as the subscriber is desirous to close his administration as soon as the law will allow.

A. PARKS, Adm'r.

March 1. 09—

NOTICE.

THE subscriber having been qualified at the February term of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions for Orange county, as executor of the last will and testament of ALEX. ANDER ALLEN, deceased, hereby gives notice to all persons indebted to the estate to make immediate payment, and those having claims will present them properly authenticated within the time prescribed by law, or this notice will be plead in bar of their recovery.

JOHN SCOTT, Ex'r.

February 25. 07—

FOR SALE.

BECKWITH'S ANTI-DISPETIC PILLS. B. W. W. GRAY'S INVALUABLE OINTMENT, AND A. G. HULL'S IMPROVED Hinge and Pivot TRUSS.

ALLEN PARKS.

November 5. 84—

JOB-PRINTING.

Executed at this Office with neatness, accuracy and despatch.

Bank Stock For Sale.

10 SHARES of the capital Stock of the Bank of Cape Fear, belonging to the estate of James Williamson, dead will be sold, before the Court House door in Hillsborough, on Thursday of the next May County Court. JOHN M. DICK. R. P. WILLIAMSON, } Ex'rs. March 4. 09—



WATCHES, Jewellery, Silver Ware, &c.

HUNTINGTON & LYNER

HAVE received an additional supply of goods in their line, which makes the assortment extensive; and they assure those who want watches that they can be suited, as they do not sell one without warranting it to be good. In addition to WATCHES, JEWELLERY, &c. they have

Britannia & Plated Ware,

A LARGE STOCK OF

Perfumery, Fancy Articles, &c.

Watches repaired carefully, and warranted in every instance.

They would respectfully solicit those of their customers whose accounts are of six months' standing, to pay the same.

October 22. 92—

BOOK BINDING.

JOHN H. DE CARTERET, of RALEIGH, begs leave to announce to the citizens of Hillsborough and its vicinity, and the adjoining counties, that he carries on the above business in all its various branches. He will be in Hillsborough until the 29th inst. and any orders for BINDING or BLANK BOOKS will be thankfully received.

During his stay in this place he can be found either at the Superior Court Clerk's Office, or at Mr. Palmer's Hotel. N. B. Old Books rebound, plain or ornamented.

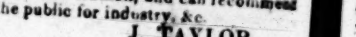
JOHN H. DE CARTERET.

De Carteret, Book Binder, and can say that he is an excellent workman, and can recommend him to the public for industry, &c.

J. TAYLOR, JAMES WEBB.

February 18. 07—4s

The Beautiful and Thorough-bred Horse



SNOWDEN.

WILL stand this season at my stable—terms made known in bills. He unites great beauty and strength, with the richest pedigree, in which is combined all the best blood both of modern and ancient times. A superior horse has at no time stood here.

A. J. DAVIE.

February 25. 08—

Carey's Library of Choice Literature.

WHEN this work was about commencing, the proprietors, in their original prospectus, stated, that their facilities were very great for conducting a publication of the kind. The selections already have given great satisfaction. "The Life of Sir James Mackintosh," "Kincaid's Rifle Brigade," and "Characteristics of Hindostan," are works that at the same time are interesting and instructive. Nothing bearing a different character shall ever find place in the Library.

As a proof of our facilities, we have commenced in No. 14, the publication of a work of History and Fiction, by James—received by us ONE MONTH IN ADVANCE OF ANY OTHER PUBLISHER. This gentleman is the author of those deservedly popular works, "Dorothy," "D'Orme," "Rochelle," "Philip Augustus," "Henry Martineau," "John Merriam Hall," "Mary of Burgundy," "The Gypsy," &c. The present work will sustain his high reputation. The scene is laid in France, during the reign of its gayest monarch, Henri Quatre, and is full of those beautiful descriptions and stirring incidents which characterize his writings. It is entitled

ONE IN A THOUSAND,

OR,

The Days of Henri Quatre.

This work will be completed in advance of the regular days of publication to gratify our numerous readers, with what when they commence, we are convinced they will anxiously look for—the Denouement.

Our extraordinary facilities will enable us to be always in advance with the works of the and many other celebrated authors.

The Library is published weekly, each number containing 30 imperial octavo pages, is a stitched cover. The Literary Chronicle which accompanies it contains 4 pages, and is bound up at the completion of each volume at the end of the work.

Five Dollars per annum, payable in advance.

Address CAREY & HART, or

LOUIS A. GODEY, Agent.

PHILADELPHIA.

January 14. 03—

BLANKS for sale at this Office.

HILLSBOROUGH, N. C.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

BY DENNIS HEARTT,

AT THREE DOLLARS A YEAR, OR TWO DOLLARS FIFTY CENTS IF PAID IN ADVANCE.

Those who do not give notice of their wish to have their paper discontinued at the expiration of the year, will be presumed as desiring its continuance until countermanded. And no paper will be discontinued until all arrears are paid, unless at the option of the publisher. Persons procuring six subscribers, shall receive the seventh gratis.

Advertisements not exceeding sixteen lines will be inserted three times for one dollar, and twenty-five cents for each continuance. Subscriptions received by the printer, and most of the post-masters in the state. All letters upon business relative to the paper must be post paid.